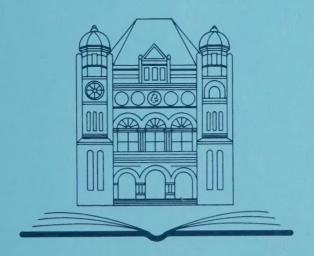






FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE, HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND PROVINCIAL AND TERRITORIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Current Issue Paper 56



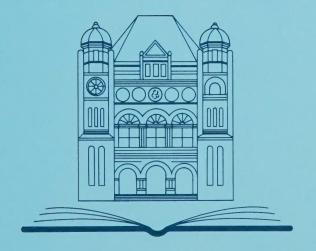
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Current Issue Paper 56



Prepared by:

Elaine Campbell Research Officer Legislative Research Service

Revised November 1994

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- 1

INTRODUCTION

Increasing public and political attention has been focused on women's participation in the Canadian electoral process. Although making up more than one-half of the population, women currently occupy just over 18 percent of the elected positions at the federal, provincial and territorial levels combined. Federal and provincial political parties have established funds to encourage and provide assistance to women interested in running for office. In last year's federal election, some even set goals for percentages of female candidates.¹

Despite continued underrepresentation, the past year and a half saw significant developments. Kim Campbell was elected leader of the federal Progressive Conservative Party in June 1993, becoming Canada's first female prime minister. Prince Edward Island Liberal Catherine Callbeck led her party to electoral victory in March 1993, becoming the first woman to do so in Canada. The federal election of October 25, 1993, saw 53 women — a record number — win office. Elections have also been held in Alberta, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and the Yukon since March 1992. The Yukon was the only jurisdiction in which the number of female representatives fell.

The bulk of this paper consists of detailed tables showing the level of female representation in the Senate, House of Commons and provincial and territorial legislative assemblies as of November 1994. There is also a table showing female cabinet membership across Canada,² as well as extensive background notes. An international section allows for comparisons with western European nations, as well as with the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The next section provides some brief historical background for these statistics.

CANADA

The Senate

Nominated by the King government in 1930, Ontario Liberal Cairine Wilson was the first woman appointed to the Senate. Her appointment was preceded by the celebrated "Persons Case."

Emily Murphy became a magistrate in an Alberta court in 1916. Her authority was immediately questioned on the grounds that "only men could be 'persons' in the statutes authorizing appointment of judges." Three years later, the first conference of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada passed a resolution requesting that a woman be appointed to the Senate by the prime minister. The request was later renewed by two other women's organizations. Murphy was their choice as candidate. Both Arthur Meighen and Mackenzie King hesitated, repeating the earlier argument that women were not eligible for appointment on the grounds that they were not "persons" under s. 24 of the *British North America Act*. (This section dealt with the appointment of senators.)

In 1927, Murphy and four other Alberta women petitioned the federal government for an order-in-council directing the Supreme Court to make a ruling on this constitutional point. On April 24, 1928, the Court declared that women were not persons. The women proceeded with their case to the final court of appeal at that time, the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council in London. On October 18, 1929, the Privy Council ruled that women were persons under s. 24 and were therefore eligible for appointment to the Senate.⁵

It was not until 1935 that Wilson was joined by another woman, Iva C. Fallis, a Conservative, also from Ontario. Eighteen more years passed before further women were appointed.⁶ The current level of female representation (18) is the highest it has ever been.

The issue of women's representation surfaced during the last round of constitutional debates. Participants in a conference on institutional reform held in Calgary in January 1992, one of a cross-country series of constitutional conferences, "favoured an electoral system that would facilitate the representation of diversity within each province" with respect to Senate reform.

In its February 1992 report, the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on a Renewed Canada wrote that a dominant theme in witnesses' presentations on Senate reform was proportional representation. The Committee made reference to the Calgary conference and said that a number of its witnesses had anticipated an argument presented at that gathering; proportional representation would provide better representation for women and other underrepresented groups. It went on to recommend that the Senate should be elected by proportional representation.⁸

The House of Commons

A full suffrage bill for Canadian women was passed in 1918.⁹ The previous year, the Unionist federal government had allowed soldiers fighting abroad to nominate their nearest female relative over the age of 21 to act as a proxy in elections. However, it was not until 1919 that women were given the right to hold public office at the federal level.¹⁰

The election of 1921 was the first to include female candidates. Of the four women who ran, only Agnes MacPhail, a United Farmers of Ontario member from Grey Southeast, won her seat. MacPhail was to remain the lone woman in the Commons for 14 years; even as late as 1949, only five women had won seats.¹¹

Female representation rose and fell over the years until the 1970s, when numbers began to increase markedly. Twenty-seven women were elected in 1984; two more women were successful in by-elections held in 1987. The federal election of October 1993 saw 53 women, win seats in the House of Commons. This record number of incumbents and new MPs came from nine of the provinces and both territories.

The Provinces

In some provinces women could vote and hold office even before those rights were granted by the federal government. Manitoba, in early 1916, was the first to have full female enfranchisement, followed by Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario, all by the end of 1917. At the same time, or shortly afterward, these provinces also allowed women to hold office. By 1925, women were both voting and eligible to hold office in all provinces except Quebec. Women in Quebec had to wait until 1940 for both rights.¹²

The first woman elected to a legislature in the British Empire was in Alberta where Louise McKinney won a seat in 1917. Mary Ellen Smith was elected to the British Columbia legislature the following year. Ontario had to wait until 1943, when Agnes MacPhail and Margaret Luckock, both of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), were elected to sit for York East and Bracondale, respectively. Neither woman was re-elected in 1945, but MacPhail returned in 1948 and sat until 1951.¹³

Cabinets

John Diefenbaker appointed the first woman to a federal cabinet post in 1957, Ellen Fairclough (PC - Hamilton West). Her first portfolio was that of Secretary of State, followed by Citizenship and Immigration and later the office of Postmaster General. In 1921 British Columbia and Alberta appointed the first female provincial cabinet ministers. Margaret Birch (PC - Scarborough East) was named to the Ontario cabinet, as Minister without Portfolio, 51 years later. Canada's first female Minister of Finance, Janice MacKinnon of Saskatchewan, was appointed in January 1993.

Heads of Government and Party Leaders

Kim Campbell became Canada's first female prime minister after winning the leadership of the federal Progressive Conservative Party in June 1993; however, both

she and her party were defeated on October 25, 1993.¹⁷ Rita Johnston became the first female premier in Canada in the spring of 1991 following the resignation of British Columbia's Bill Vander Zalm. She then won the leadership of the provincial Social Credit Party in July 1991, but was voted out of office along with her party only three months later. Nellie Cournoyea was elected Government Leader of the Northwest Territories by her fellow legislators after an October 1991 election.¹⁸ Catherine Callbeck, who was elected PEI Liberal leader in January 1993, became the first woman to lead a Canadian political party to electoral victory in March 1993.¹⁹

Following her November 1989 federal NDP leadership victory, Audrey McLaughlin became the first female leader of a national party in North America. The Yukon MP made history on the fourth ballot at the Party's national convention. Today, Elizabeth Weir (New Brunswick - NDP), Lynda Haverstock (Saskatchewan - Lib), Lyn McLeod (Ontario - Lib), and Patricia Mella (PEI - PC), are all leaders of their respective provincial parties. Together with McLaughlin, they are the successors to earlier women who ran strong but unsuccessful leadership campaigns.²⁰

Rosemary Brown contested the leadership of the federal NDP in 1975, but lost to Ed Broadbent. The following year, Flora MacDonald placed sixth on the first ballot in an effort to succeed Robert Stanfield as leader of the federal Progressive Conservative Party.²¹ Many more have run unsuccessfully for the leadership of provincial parties; for example, Sheila Copps (Ontario - Lib) and Dianne Cunningham (Ontario - PC) ran in 1982 and 1990, respectively.

Sheila Copps was named Deputy Prime Minister after the federal Liberals won the October 1993 election. Elizabeth Cull is Deputy Premier of British Columbia and Marcelle Mersereau is Deputy Premier of New Brunswick.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

Women are becoming increasingly involved in the political process around the world. A 1988 international survey by the Inter-Parliamentary Union found that more women held national political office at that time than had been the case in 1975. The latter is a significant date, as it marked the beginning of the United Nations' Decade for Women. Canada's progress parallels that of other western democracies.

Of the 12 countries listed in Table 1, most granted women the right to vote and to stand for election during, or immediately after, World War One. Australia's Constitution of 1901 barred aboriginal people, both women and men, from voting; it was not until a 1967 referendum that relevant provisions were altered. Norwegian women were given the right to stand for office in 1907, but between that year and 1913 they had to meet the following criteria: private means, property, a good position and income. Women in the United Kingdom became able to vote in 1918 but had to be over the age of 30. In 1928 they gained full voting equality with men. The American Constitution of 1788 does not mention sex with regard to the right to stand for election to the House of Representatives or to the Senate. In all countries but Australia, New Zealand and the United States, women were first elected to national parliament shortly after being permitted to run for office.

In 1975, Sweden, Norway and Denmark had the highest percentages of women in their single or lower chambers. Canada had one of the lowest percentages; only Australia and France had lower percentages. Our situation has improved considerably since then; however, all countries have seen increases in their percentages of female representatives. Table 1 shows that France, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States now have the lowest percentages of seats belonging to women. The United Kingdom's position here is somewhat ironic since it had a female prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, from 1979 until 1990.²³

Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany now have the highest percentages of female parliamentarians. Iceland has a female president, Vigdis Finnbogadottir, and

Norway a female prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Studies of female political representation in countries with consistently high percentages attribute those levels of participation to a variety of factors, including proportional representation.²⁴

System of Representation

Attempts have been made by some jurisdictions to develop methods of formal representation for groups that are perceived to be disadvantaged. Women have sometimes been the targets of quotas, appointments and reserved seats. Supporters of these measures often describe them as being temporary but necessary to give women a foothold in government. Opponents have said that they are merely cosmetic and divert attention away from the more critical issues facing women. Lyn McLeod, the first woman to lead a political party in Ontario, had said that quotas

carry an implicit assumption that as women we are unable to compete on the basis of our skills and experience. We don't need guaranteed access, we need open access.²⁵

Special measures such as those mentioned above are only part of the broader issue of electoral systems. Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and many other countries have what is called a 'first-past-the-post' or, more formally, a single-member, majority electoral system. Some believe that a system of proportional representation is more favourable to women.

The term 'proportional representation' refers to an ideal or principle whereby the strength of a party in an assembly is directly proportional to the strength of its electoral support. Actual mechanisms vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Norway and Sweden are two countries which employ a form of proportional representation. Parties draw up lists of candidates to run in multi-member constituencies. A candidate's success is dependent on his or her party's proportion of the final vote and his or her placement on that party's list of candidates.

The electoral success of women in countries with systems similar to those found in Norway and Sweden has led to calls for the introduction of proportional representation in 'first-past-the-post' jurisdictions. ²⁸ Critics can point to the fact that before the end of World War Two, female representation in Nordic parliaments was no higher than that in most countries. Women must also have high placements on a party's list in order to be successful candidates. ²⁹

TABLE I

FEMALE REPRESENTATION: INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

Country;	Year to Vote	Year to Stand for Election		Women in Single or Lower Chamber in 1975		Year of Last Election (Single or Lower Chamber)	No. of Women in Chamber	% of Total Seats
Australia ¹	1901-1967	1901-1967	1943	0	0	1993	15	10.2
Canada ²	1917-1918	1919	1921	9	3.4	1993	53	18.0
Denmark ³	1915	1915	1918	28	15.6	1994	59	33.0
France ⁴	1944	1944	1944	8	1.6	1993	. 35	6.1
Germany ⁵	1919	1919	1919	31	5.6	1994	174	25.9
Iceland ⁶	1915	1915	n.a.	3	5	1991	15	23.8
New Zealand ⁷	1893	1919	1933	4	4.6	1993	20	20.2
Norway ⁸	1913	1907	1911	24	15.5	1993	65	39.4
Sweden ⁹	1918-1921	1920	1921	75	21.4	1994	142	40.7
Switzerland ¹⁰	1971	1971	1971	15	7.5	1991	35	17.5
United Kingdom ¹¹	1918-1928	1918	1918	27	4.2	1992	60	9.2
United States ¹²	1920	1788	1916	16	3.6	1994	49	11.3

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, Participation of Women in Political Life and in the Decision-making Process: A World Survey as at 1 April 1988, Series "Reports and Documents," No. 15 (Geneva: International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation, 1988), Tables I and II.

Australia's last parliamentary election was held on 24 March 1993. Women now hold 15 of the 147 seats in the House of Representatives. Information provided by the Australian High Commission, Ottawa and the Department of the Library, Parliament House, Canberra, week of 14 November 1994. (The leader of the Australian Democrats is Senator Cheryl Kernot.)

The female leaders referred to in this and the following footnotes are those who actually sit in their respective Chambers.

Canadian figures are based on information from Table 3. See footnote 10 in text paper for more detail.

- The last Danish election was held on 21 September 1994. As of November 1994, women hold 59 of the 179 seats in the Folketing. Information provided by the Royal Danish Embassy, Ottawa, week of 21 November 1994. (The leader of the Social Liberal Party is Marianne Jelved and the leader of the Centrum-Democrats Party is Mimi Jacobsen.)
- The last French national elections were held in March 1993. Women now hold 35 of the 577 seats in the National Assembly. Information provided by Press Office, Embassy of France, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994.
- German figures for 1975 are for what was then known as the Federal Republic of Germany. The reunited Federal Republic of Germany held its first election on 2 December 1990. The most recent election was held on 16 October 1994. Of the 672 deputies in the Bundestag, 174 are women. Information provided by the German Embassy, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994.
- The last Icelandic election was held in April 1991. Fifteen women hold seats in the 63 member Althing. Information provided by Icelandic Embassy, Washington, D.C., week of 21 November 1994. (Vigdis Finnbogadottir is president of Iceland.)
- New Zealand's last parliamentary election was held on 6 November 1993. Women now hold 20 of the 99 seats in the House of Representatives. Information provided by the New Zealand High Commission, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994. (The leaders of the two major opposition parties are women. Helen Clark leads the Labour Party and Sandra Lee is leader of the Alliance. Ms Lee is also the leader of the Mana Motuhake Party which is one of the parties in the Alliance.)
- The last Norwegian parliamentary election was held on 13 September 1993. Women occupy 65 of the 165 seats in the Storting. Information provided by Royal Norwegian Embassy, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994. (Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland heads the Labour Party. The leader of the Liberal Party is Anne Enger Lahnstein.)
- The last Swedish election was held on 18 September 1994. There are 349 seats in the Riksdag, 142 of which are held by women. Information provided by Embassy of Sweden, Information Office, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994. (The leader of the Left Party is Gudrun Schyman.)
- The last Swiss election was held in October 1991. Women hold 35 seats in the 200 member lower chamber (National Council). Information provided by Embassy of Switzerland, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994.
- The last British election was held on 9 April 1992. Women currently hold 60 of the 651 seats in the House of Commons. Information provided by British High Commission, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994.
- The last election for the American House of Representatives was held on 8 November 1994.

 Forty-nine seats are held by women. (The House has 435 seats.) Information provided by United States Embassy, Ottawa, week of 14 November 1994.

TABLE II

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE

(as of November 1994)

Senator	Party	Designation	Province
Raynell Andreychuk	PC	Saskatchewan	Saskatchewan
Lise Bacon ^a	Lib	De la Durantaye	Quebec
Pat Carney	PC	British Columbia	British Columbia
Sharon Carstairs ^a	Lib	Manitoba	Manitoba
Ethel Cochrane	PC	Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Erminie Joy Cohen	PC	New Brunswick	New Brunswick
Anne C. Cools	Lib	Toronto Centre	Ontario
Mabel DeWare	PC	New Brunswick	New Brunswick
Joyce Fairbairn ^b	Lib	Lethbridge	Alberta
Janis Johnson	PC	Winnipeg-Interlake	Manitoba
Thérèse Lavoie-Roux	PC	Quebec -	Quebec
Marjory LeBreton	PC	Ontario	Ontario
Joan Neiman	Lib	Peel	Ontario
Landon Pearson ^a	Lib	Ontario	Ontario
Brenda Robertson	PC	Riverview	New Brunswick
Eileen Rossiter	PC	PEI	PEI
Mira Spivak	PC	Manitoba	Manitoba
Dalia Wood	Lib	Montarville	Quebec

^a Lise Bacon, Sharon Carstairs and Landon Pearson were appointed on 15 September 1994.

TABLE II-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE BY PROVINCE

Province/Territory	Female Senators	Total Senators	% Female Representation
Alberta	1	6	16.7
British Columbia	1	6	16.7
Manitoba	3	6	50.0
New Brunswick	3	9	33.3
Newfoundland	1	6	16.7
Northwest Territories	0	1	0
Nova Scotia	0	10	0
Ontario	4	24	16.7
Prince Edward Island	1	3	33.3
Quebec	3	24	12.5
Saskatchewan	1	6	16.7
Yukon	0 .	1	0
TOTAL	18	102	17.6

Joyce Fairbairn is Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister with Special Responsibility for Literacy.

TABLE III

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

(as of November 1994) (35th Parliament)

Member	Party	Constituency	Province/Territory
Diane Ablonczy	Ref	Calgary North	Alberta
Jean Augustine	Lib	Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Ontario
Eleni Bakopanos	Lib	St. Denis	Quebec
Sue Barnes	Lib	London West	Ontario
Colleen Beaumier	Lib	Brampton	Ontario
Judy Bethel	Lib	Edmonton East	Alberta
Ethel Blondin-Andrew	Lib	Western Arctic	Northwest Territories
Margaret Bridgman	Ref	Surrey North	British Columbia
Bonnie Brown	Lib	Oakville-Milton	Ontario
Jan Brown	Ref	Calgary Southeast	Alberta
Dianne Brushett	Lib	Cumberland-Colchester	Nova Scotia
Marlene Catterall	Lib	Ottawa West	Ontario
Brenda Chamberlain	Lib	Guelph-Wellington	Ontario
Mary Clancy	Lib	Halifax	Nova Scotia
Shaughnessy Cohen	Lib	Windsor-St. Clair	Ontario
Sheila Copps ^a	Lib	Hamilton East	Ontario
Marlene Cowling	Lib	Dauphin-Swan River	Manitoba
Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral ^b	BQ	Laval Centre	Quebec
Maud Debien	BQ	Laval East	Quebec
Sheila Finestone	Lib	Mount Royal	Quebec
Hedy Fry	Lib	Vancouver Centre	British Columbia
Beryl Gaffney	Lib	Nepean	Ontario
Christiane Gagnon	BQ	Quebec	Quebec
Deborah Grey ^c	Ref	Beaver River	Alberta
Albina Guarnieri	Lib	Mississauga East	Ontario
Monique Guay	BQ	Laurentides	Quebec
Sharon Hayes	Ref	Port Moody-Coquitlam	British Columbia
Bonnie Hickey	Lib	St. John's East	Newfoundland
Daphne Jennings	Ref	Mission-Coquitlam	British Columbia

Member	Party	Constituency	Province/Territory
Karen Kraft-Sloan	Lib	York-Simcoe	Ontario
Francine Lalonde	BQ	Mercier	Quebec
Shirley Maheu	Lib	St. Laurent-Cartierville	Quebec
Diane Marleau	Lib	Sudbury	Ontario
Audrey McLaughlind	NDP	Yukon	Yukon
Anne McLellan	Lib	Edmonton Northwest	Alberta
Val Meredith	Ref	Surrey-White Rock-South Langley	British Columbia
Maria Minna	Lib	Beaches-Woodbine	Ontario
Carolyn Parrish	Lib	Mississauga West	Ontario
Jean Payne	Lib	St. John's West	Newfoundland
Beth Phinney	Lib	Hamilton Mountain	Ontario
Pauline Picard	BQ	Drummond	Quebec
Pierrette Ringuette-Maltais	Lib	Madawaska-Victoria	New Brunswick
Georgette Sheridan	Lib	Saskatoon-Humboldt	Saskatchewan
Roseanne Skoke	Lib	Central Nova	Nova Scotia
Christine Stewart	Lib	Northumberland	Ontario
Jane Stewart ^c	Lib	Brant	Ontario
Anna Terrana	Lib	Vancouver East	British Columbia
Paddy Torsney	Lib	Burlington	Ontario
Suzanne Tremblay	BQ	Rimouski-Temiscousta	Quebec
Rose-Marie Ur	Lib	Lambton-Middlesex	Ontario
Pierrette Venne	BQ	St. Hubert	Quebec
Elsie Wayne	PC	Saint John	New Brunswick
Susan Whelan	Lib	Essex-Windsor	Ontario

^a Sheila Copps is Deputy Prime Minister.

^b Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral is Assistant Whip for the Bloc Québécois (BQ).

Deborah Grey is Caucus Chair for the Reform Party (Ref).

d Audrey McLaughlin is NDP leader.

Jane Stewart is Caucus Chair for the Liberal Party.

TABLE III-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY PARLIAMENT

Parliament	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
32nd	16	282	5.7
33rd	29	282	10.3
34th	40	295	13.6
35th	53	293	18.1

(2 vacancies as of 24 November 1994)

TABLE IV

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE ALBERTA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
22nd	March 20, 1989 -	Pam Barrett	NDP	Edmonton-Highlands
	June 1993	Nancy Betkowski	PC	Edmonton-Glenora
		Patricia Black	PC	Calgary-Foothills
		Pearl Calahasen	PC	Lesser Slave Lake
		Yolande Gagnon	Lib	Calgary-McKnight
		Bettie Hewes	Lib	Edmonton-Gold Bar
		Bonnie Laing	PC	Calgary-Bow
		Marie Laing	NDP	Edmonton-Avonmore
		Shirley McClellan	PC	Chinook
		Elaine McCoy	PC	Calgary-West
		Dianne Mirosh	PC	Calgary-Glenmore
		Christie Mjolness	NDP	Edmonton-Calder
		Connie Osterman	PC	Three Hills
23rd	June 15, 1993 —	Muriel Abdurahman	Lib	Clover Bar-Fort Saskatchewan
	present	Patricia Black ^a	PC	Calgary-Foothills
		Jocelyn Burgener	PC	Calgary-Currie
		Pearl Calahasen	PC	Lesser Slave Lake
		Debby Carlson ^b	Lib	Edmonton-Ellerslie
		Heather Forsyth	PC	Calgary-Fish Creek
		Yvonne Fritz	PC	Calgary-Cross
		Judy Gordon	PC	Lacombe-Stettler
		Carol Haley	PC	Three Hills-Airdrie
		Alice Hanson	Lib	Edmonton-Highlands-Beverly
		Bettie Hewes	Lib	Edmonton-Gold Bar
		Bonnie Laing	PC	Calgary-Bow
		Karen Leibovici	Lib	Edmonton-Meadowlark
		Shirley McClellan	PC	Chinook
		Dianne Mirosh	PC	Calgary-Glenmore
		Colleen Soetaert	Lib	Spruce Grove-Sturgeon- St. Albert

^a Patricia Black is Deputy Government House Leader.

b Debby Carlson is Whip for the Liberal Party.

TABLE IV-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN ALBERTA BY LEGISLATURE

	Female Total embers	Members % Female	e Representation
22nd	13	81	16.0
	(2 vacancies as o	f February 1992)	
23rd	16	83	19.3

TABLE V

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

34th	October 22, 1986 -	Lois Boone	NDP	Prince George North
	October 1991 ^a	Elizabeth Cull ^b	NDP	Oak Bay-Gordon Head
		Anne Edwards	NDP	Kootenay
		Carol Gran	SC	Langley
		Anita Hagen	NDP	New Westminster
		Rita Johnston	SC	Surrey-Newton
		Grace McCarthy	SC	Vancouver-Little Mountain
		Darlene Marzaric	NDP	Vancouver-Point Grey
		Jan Pullinger ^d	NDP	Nanaimo
		Joan Smallwood ^c	NDP	Surrey-Guildford-Whalley
35th	October 17, 1991 -	Lois Boone	NDP	Prince George-Mount Robson
	present	Gretchen Brewin ^c	NDP	Victoria-Beacon Hill
		Barbara Copping	NDP	Port Moody-Burnaby Mountain
		Elizabeth Cullf	NDP	Oak Bay-Gordon Head
		Anne Edwards	NDP	Kootenay
		Anita Hagen	NDP	New Westminster
		Sue Hammell	NDP	Surrey-Green Timbers
		Margaret Lord	NDP	Comox Valley
		Joy MacPhail	NDP	Vancouver-Hastings
		Darlene Marzari	NDP	Vancouver-Point Grey
		Shannon O'Neill	NDP	Shuswap
		Jackie Pement	NDP	Bulkley Valley-Stikine
		Penny Priddy	NDP	Surrey-Newton
		Jan Pullinger	NDP	Cowichan-Ladysmith
		Linda Reid	Lib	Richmond East
		Joan Sawicki	NDP	Burnaby-Willingdon
		Joan Smallwood	NDP	Surrey-Whalley
		Lynn Stephens	Lib	Langley
		Judi Tyabjig	Ind	Okanagan East

Kim Campbell (SC - Vancouver-Point Grey) was elected on 22 October 1986, but resigned to run in the 1988 federal election.

^b Elizabeth Cull was elected in a by-election held on 13 December 1989.

Darlene Marzari and Joan Smallwood won their seats after recounts were held on 4 November 1986, for all constituencies.

d Jan Pullinger was elected in a by-election held on 15 March 1989.

^c Gretchen Brewin is Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House.

f Elizabeth Cull is Deputy Premier.

Judi Tyabji is one of two Members representing the Progressive Democratic Alliance (PDA). Because the PDA has only two Members, it is not officially recognized in the Legislature; four Members are required for official recognition.

TABLE V-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
34th	10	69	14.5
35th	19	74	25.7

(1 vacancy as of November 1994)

TABLE VI

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE MANITOBA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	A Year Joseph John Stag	Member	Party	Constituency
34th	April 26, 1988 - September 1990	Sharon Carstairs Gwen Charles Avis Gray Gerrie Hammond Maureen Hemphill Bonnie Mitchelson Charlotte Oleson Judy Wasylycia-Leis Iva Yeo	Lib Lib PC NDP PC PC NDP Lib	River Heights Selkirk Ellice Kirkfield Park Logan River East Gladstone St. Johns Sturgeon Creek
35th	September 11, 1990 - present ^a	Becky Barrett Marianne Cerilli Louise Dacquayb Jean Friesen Avis Grayc Norma McCormickd Linda McIntosh Bonnie Mitchelson Shirley Render Rosemary Vodrey Rosann Wowchuk	NDP NDP PC NDP Lib Lib PC PC PC NDP	Wellington Radisson Seine River Wolseley Crescentwood Osborne Assiniboia River East St. Vital Fort Garry Swan River

- ^a Judy Wasylycia-Leis (NDP St. Johns) was elected on 11 September 1990, but resigned to run in the 1993 federal election. Sharon Carstairs (Lib River Heights) was also elected on 11 September 1990. She was named to the Senate on 15 September 1994.
- b Louise Dacquay is Deputy Speaker.
- c Avis Gray was elected in a by-election held on 15 September 1992. She is Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party.
- d Norma McCormick was elected in a by-election held on 20 September 1993.

TABLE VI-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN MANITOBA BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
34th	9	57	15.8
35th	11	55	20.0

(2 vacancies as of November 1994)

TABLE VII

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
51st	October 13, 1987 - September 1991	Jane Barry Ann Breault Shirley Dysart Laureen Jarrett Aldéa Landry Pierrette Ringuette-Maltais Marilyn Trenholme	Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib	Saint John West St. Stephen-Milltown Saint John Park Kings West Shippegan-les-Iles Madawaska South Tantramar
52nd ^a	September 23, 1991 - present ^b	Jane Barry Ann Breault Beverly Brine Georgie Day Shirley Dysart Laureen Jarrett Marcelle Mersereauc Marilyn Trenholme Elizabeth Weird	Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib Lib NDP	Saint John West St. Stephen-Milltown Albert Kings Centre Saint John-Park Kings West Bathurst Tantramar Saint John South

- Number of the current Legislative Assembly according to the actual chronology of official provincial records. Source: New Brunswick, Legislative Assembly, *Journals*, 52nd Legislative Assembly, 3rd Session (20 April 1994).
- Pierrette Ringuette-Maltais (Lib Madawaska South) was elected on 23 September 1991, but resigned to run in the 1993 federal election.
- ^c Marcelle Mersereau is Deputy Premier.
- d Elizabeth Weir is NDP leader.

TABLE VII-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
51st	7	58	12.1
52nd	9	58	15.5

TABLE VIII

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year West Control	Member	Party	Constituency
41st	April 20, 1989 - May 1993 ^a	Patricia Cowan Lynn Verge	Lib PC	Conception Bay South Humber East
42nd ^b	May 3, 1993 - present	Patricia Cowan Lynn Verge Caroline Young	Lib PC Lib	Conception Bay South Humber East Terra Nova

Shannie Duff (PC - St. John's East) was elected on 20 April 1989, but resigned on 5 September 1990.

TABLE VIII-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature Femal	e Members Tota	Members % Female	Representation
41st	2	52	3.8
42nd	3	52	5.8

Number of the current General Assembly according to the actual chronology of official provincial records. Source: Newfoundland, House of Assembly, *Preliminary Report (Hansard)*, 42nd General Assembly, 2nd Session (9 June 1994).

TABLE IX

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Constituency
11th	October 5, 1987 - October 1991	Nellie Cournoyea Jeannie Marie-Jewel	Nunakput Slave River
12th	October 15, 1991 - present	Nellie Cournoyea ^a Jeannie Marie-Jewel ^b Rebecca Mike	Nunakput Thebacha Baffin Central

^a Nellie Cournoyea is Government Leader.

TABLE IX-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
11th	2	24	8.3
12th	. 3	24	12.5

b Jeannie Marie-Jewel is Speaker.

TABLE X

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE NOVA SCOTIA HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
32nd (55th)	September 6, 1988 - May 1993	Marie Dechman Sandra Jolly Alexa McDonough	PC Lib NDP	Lunenburg West Dartmouth North Halifax Chebucto
33rd ^a (56th) ^b	May 25, 1993 - present	Francine Cosman Sandra Jolly Alexa McDonough ^c Eleanor Norrie Lila O'Connor	Lib Lib NDP Lib Lib	Bedford-Fall River Dartmouth North Halifax Fairview Truro-Bible Hill Lunenburg

Numbered according to the chronology set forth in Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, Spring 1994, pp. 748-751, which designates the first General Assembly as corresponding with the joining of Confederation.

Number of the current General Assembly according to the actual chronology of official provincial records. Source: Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, *Debates and Proceedings*, 56th General Assembly, 2nd Session (4 November 1994).

Alexa McDonough resigned as NDP leader on 19 November 1994.

TABLE X-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN NOVA SCOTIA BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
32nd	3	52	5.8
33rd	5	52	9.6

TABLE XI

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
34th	September 10, 1987 - September 1990	Marion Bryden Elinor Caplan Shirley Collins Dianne Cunninghama Joan Fawcett Ruth Grier Christine Hart Chaviva Hosek Linda Lebourdais Margaret Marland Shelley Martel Lyn McLeod Cindy Nicholas Yvonne O'Neill Lily Oddie Munro Dianne Poole Marietta Roberts Joan Smith Norah Stoner Barbara Sullivan Mavis Wilson	NDP Lib Lib NDP Lib	Beaches-Woodbine Oriole Wentworth North London North Northumberland Etobicoke-Lakeshore York East Oakwood Etobicoke West Mississauga South Sudbury East Fort William Scarborough Centre Ottawa-Rideau Hamilton Centre Eglinton Elgin London South Durham West Halton Centre Dufferin-Peel
35th	September 6, 1990 - present ^b	Marion Boyd Elinor Caplanc Jenny Carterd Marilyn Churley Shirley Coppen Dianne Cunninghamc Joan Fawcett Evelyn Gigantes Ruth Grier Christel Haeckd Margaret Harringtonc Karen Haslam Frances Lankin Ellen MacKinnon Margaret Marland Shelley Martel Irene Mathyssen Lyn McLeodc Sharon Murdock Yvonne O'Neill Dianne Poole Barbara Sullivan Anne Swarbrick Shelley Wark-Martyn Elizabeth Witmer Elaine Ziemba	NDP Lib NDP NDP PC Lib NDP NDP NDP NDP NDP NDP NDP Lib NDP Lib Lib Lib Lib NDP NDP NDP	London Centre Oriole Peterborough Riverdale Niagara South London North Northumberland Ottawa Centre Etobicoke-Lakeshore St. Catharines-Brock Niagara Falls Perth Beaches-Woodbine Lambton Mississauga South Sudbury East Middlesex Fort William Sudbury Ottawa-Rideau Eglinton Halton Centre Scarborough West Port Arthur Waterloo North High Park-Swansea

- ^a Dianne Cunningham was elected in a by-election held on 31 March 1988.
- Margery Ward (NDP Don Mills) was elected on 6 September 1990, but died on 22 January 1993. Zanana Akande (NDP St. Andrew-St.Patrick) was also elected on 6 September 1990, but resigned effective 31 August 1994.
- ^c Elinor Caplan is Deputy House Leader of the Liberal Party.
- d Jenny Carter and Christel Haeck are Government Whips.
- Dianne Cunningham is Deputy Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party.
- Margaret Harrington is First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House.
- E Lynn McLeod is Liberal Party leader and Leader of the Opposition.

TABLE XI-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN ONTARIO BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
34th	21	130	16.2
35th	26	126	20.6
(4 vacancies as of November 1994)			

TABLE XII

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
33rd	May 29, 1989 -	Leone Bagnall	PC	Queens First
(58th)	March 1993	Betty Jean Brown	Lib	Queens Third
		Nancy Guptill	Lib	Prince Fifth
		Elizabeth Hubley	Lib	Prince Fourth
		Roberta Hubley	Lib	Kings Third
		Rose Marie MacDonald	Lib	Kings Fifth
		Marian Murphy	Lib	Queens First
34th ^a	March 29, 1993 -	Catherine Callbeck ^c	Lib	Queens First
(59th) ^b	present	Nancy Guptill ^d	Lib	Prince Fifth
		Elizabeth Hubley ^e	Lib	Prince Fourth
		Roberta Hubley	Lib	Kings Third
		Jeannie Lea	Lib	Queens Sixth
		Rose Marie MacDonald	Lib	Kings Fifth
		Patricia Mella ^f	PC	Queens Third
		Marion Murphy	Lib	Queens First

- ^a Numbered according to the chronology set forth in Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, Spring 1994, pp. 864-867, which designates the first Assembly as corresponding with the joining of Confederation.
- Number of the current General Assembly according to the actual chronology of official provincial records. Source: Prince Edward Island, Legislative Assembly, *Journal*, 59th General Assembly, 1st Session (1993). The number dates back to the original legislature in the Province.
- ^c Catherine Callbeck is Premier
- d Nancy Guptill is Speaker.
- ^c Elizabeth Hubley is Deputy Speaker.
- f Patricia Mella is PC leader.

TABLE XII-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
58th	7	32	21.9
59th	8	32	25.0

TABLE XIII

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE QUEBEC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
34th	September 6, 1989 -	Lise Bacon	Lib	Chomedey
	September 1994	Louise Bégin	Lib	Bellechasse
		Madeleine Bélanger	Lib	Mégantic-Compton
		Jeanne L. Blackburn	PQ	Chicoutimi
		Madeleine Bleau	Lib	Groulx
		Huguette Boucher-Bacon	Lib	Bourget
		Pierrette Cardinal	Lib	Chateauquay
		Jocelyne Caron	PQ	Terrebonne
		Denise Carrier-Perreault	PQ	Les Chutes-de-la-Chaudière
		France Dionne	Lib	Kamouraska-Témiscouata
		Luce Dupuis	Ind	Vercheres
		Liza Frulla	Lib	Marguerite-Bourgeoys
		Monique Gagnon-Tremblay	Lib	Saint Francois
		Louise Harel	PQ	Hochelaga-Maisonneuve
		Claire-Hélène Hovington	Lib	Matane
		Carmen Juneau	PQ	Johnson
		Nicole Loiselle	Lib	Saint-Henri
		Pauline Marois	PQ	Taillon
		Christiane Pelchat	Lib	Vachon
		Louise Robic	Lib	Bourassa
		Lucienne Robillard	Lib	Chambly
		Violette Trépanier	Lib	Dorion
		Cécile Vermette	PQ	Marie-Victorin
35th	September 12, 1994 -	Diane Barbeau	PQ	Vanier
	present	Louise Beaudoin	PQ	Chambly
		Madeleine Bélanger	Lib	Mégantic-Compton
		Jeanne L. Blackburn	PQ	Chicoutimi
		Jocelyne Caron	PQ	Terrebonne
		Denise Carrier-Perreault	PQ	Les Chutes-de-la-Chaudière
		Solange Charest	PQ	Rimouski
		Margaret F. Delisle	Lib	Jean-Talon
		France Dionne	Lib	Kamouraska-Témiscouata
		Rita Dionne-Marsolais	PQ	Rosemont
		Danielle Doyer	PQ	Matapédia
		Liza Frulla	Lib	Marguerite-Bourgeoys
		Monique Gagnon-Tremblay	Lib	Saint-François
		Louise Harel	PQ	Hochelaga-Maisonneuve
		Fatima Houda-Pepin	Lib	La Pinère
		Lyse Leduc	PQ	Mille-Iles
		Nicole Loiselle	Lib	Saint-Henri-Sainte-Anne
		Marie Malavoy	PQ	Sherbrooke
		Pauline Marois	PQ	Taillon
		Hélène Robert	PQ	Deux-Montagnes
		Céline Signori	PQ	Blainville
		Claire Vaive	Lib	Chapleau
		Cécile Vermette	PQ	Marie-Victorin

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TABLE XIII-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN QUEBEC BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation		
34th	23	123	18.7		
(2 vacancies as of November 1993)					
35th	23	125	18.4		

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TABLE XIV

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
21st	October 20, 1986 -	Patricia Atkinson Joan Duncan	NDP PC	Saskatoon Nutana Maple Creek
	October 1991	Louise Simard	NDP	Regina Lakeview
		Anne Smart	NDP	Saskatoon Centre
		Patricia Smith	PC	Swift Current
22nd	October 21, 1991 -	Patricia Atkinson	NDP	Saskatoon Broadway
	present	Anita Bergman ^a	Lib	Regina North West
		Judy Bradley	NDP	Bengough-Milestone
		Carol Carson	NDP	Melfort
		Joanne Crofford	NDP	Regina Lake Centre
		Doreen Hamilton	NDP	Regina Wascana Plains
		Lynda Haverstock ^b	Lib	Saskatoon Greystone
		Pat Lorje	NDP	Saskatoon Wildwood
		Janice MacKinnon	NDP	Saskatoon Westmount
		Suzanne Murray	NDP	Qu'Appelle-Lumsden
		Louise Simard	· NDP	Regina Hillsdale
		Violette Stanger	NDP	Cut Knife-Lloydminster
		Carol Teichrob	NDP	Saskatoon River Heights

^a Anita Bergman was elected in a by-election held on 4 February 1994.

b Lynda Haverstock is Liberal leader.

TABLE XIV-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN SASKATCHEWAN BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation		
21st	5	60	8.3		
(4 vacancies as of October 1990)					
22nd	13	66	19.7		

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TABLE XV

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE YUKON TERRITORY

(as of November 1994)

Legislature	Year	Member	Party	Constituency
27th	February 20, 1989 - October 1992	Bea Firth Joyce Hayden Margaret Commodore Norma Kassi	PC NDP NDP NDP	Whitehorse Riverdale South Whitehorse South Centre Whitehorse North Centre Old Crow
28th	October 19, 1992 - present	Bea Firth ^a Margaret Commodore Lois Moorcroft	Ind NDP NDP	Riverdale South Whitehorse Centre Mount Lorne

Bea Firth is leader of the Independent Alliance Party; however, the party is not formally recognized in the House and she does not have standing as a party leader in House proceedings.

TABLE XV-A

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN YUKON TERRITORY BY LEGISLATURE

Legislature	Female Members	Total Members	% Female Representation
27th	4	16	25.0
28th	3	17	17.6

TABLE XVI

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN FEDERAL, PROVINCIAL AND TERRITORIAL CABINETS

(as of November 1994)

Federal

Ethel Blondin-Andrew Secretary of State (Training and Youth)

Sheila Copps Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of the Environment

Joyce Fairbairn Leader of the Government in the Senate; Minister with Special

Responsibility for Literacy

Sheila Finestone Secretary of State (Multiculturalism)

(Status of Women)

Diane Marleau Minister of Health

Anne McLellan Minister of Natural Resources

Christine Stewart Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa)

Alberta

Patricia Black Minister of Energy

Shirley McClellan Minister of Health

Dianne Mirosh Minister Responsible for Science and Research

British Columbia

Elizabeth Cull Deputy Premier; Minister of Finance and Corporate Relations

Anne Edwards Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources

Joy MacPhail Minister of Social Services

Darlene Marzari Minister of Municipal Affairs

Jackie Pement Minister of Transportation and Highways

Penny Priddy Minister of Women's Equality

Joan Smallwood Minister of Housing, Recreation and Consumer Services

Manitoba

Linda McIntosh Minister of Urban Affairs; Minister of Housing

Bonnie Mitchelson Minister of Family Services

Rosemary Vodrey Minister of Justice and Attorney-General; Minister Responsible

for Constitutional Affairs; Minister Responsible for the Status of

Women

New Brunswick

Jane Barry Solicitor General

Ann Breault Minister of Human Resources Development; Minister of State

for Literacy

Laureen Jarrett Minister of State for Mines

Marcelle Mersereau Deputy Premier; Minister of the Environment; Minister

Responsible for the Status of Women

Marilyn Trenholme Minister of State for the Family

Newfoundland

Caroline Young Minister of Social Services

Northwest Territories

Nellie Cournoyea Government Leader; Chair of Executive Council; Minister of

Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources; Minister Responsible for the NWT Power Corporation; Minister Responsible for the

Women's Directorate

Rebecca Mike Minister of Social Services; Minister of Personnel

Nova Scotia

Sandra Jolly Minister of Municipal Affairs; Minister in Charge of the

Administration of the Heritage Property Act

Eleanor Norrie

Minister of Human Resources; Minister Responsible for the Nova Scotia Sport and Recreation Commission; Minister Responsible for the Administration of the Advisory Council on the Status of Women Act; Minister Responsible for the Women's

Directorate

Ontario

Marion Boyd Attorney General; Minister Responsible for Women's Issues

Marilyn Churley Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations

Shirley Coppen Minister of Labour

Ruth Grier Minister of Health

Frances Lankin Minister of Economic Development and Trade

Irene Mathyssen Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and

Recreation

Anne Swarbrick Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation

Shelley Wark-Martyn Minister without Portfolio, Ministry of Health

Elaine Ziemba Minister of Citizenship; Minister Responsible for Human

Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations

Prince Edward Island

Catherine Callbeck Premier

Jeannie Lea Minister without Portfolio Responsible for the Office of Higher

Education, Training and Advanced Learning; Minister Responsible for the PEI Advisory Council on the Status of

Women

Quebec

Louise Beaudoin Minister of Canadian Intergovernmental Affairs

Jeanne L. Blackburn Minister of Revenue Security; Minister Responsible for the

Status of Women

Rita Dionne-Marsolais Minister of Tourism; Minister of Culture and Communications;

Minister Responsible for the Olympic Installations Board

Louise Harel Minister of Employment; Minister Responsible for Planning

Pauline Marois Minister Responsible for Public Administration; President of the

Treasury Board; Minister Responsible for Family and Child

Day-Care Services

Saskatchewan

Patricia Atkinson Minister of Education, Training and Employment

Carol Carson Minister of Municipal Government

Janice MacKinnon Minister of Finance

Louise Simard Minister of Health; Minister Responsible for the Status of

Women

ENDNOTES

¹ In November 1991, the federal New Democratic Party (NDP) set a goal of 50% female candidates in the next federal election. See Graham Fraser, "NDP to seek more female candidates," *Globe and Mail*, 25 November 1991.

In March 1993, the federal Liberal Party announced that 25% of its candidates in the next election would be women. See Andre Picard, "Liberals want women to run in 25% of seats," *Globe and Mail*, 9 March 1993.

The Progressive Conservative Party had 67 female candidates in the October 1993 federal election, the Liberals 64, the NDP 113, the Bloc Québécois 10, and the Reform Party 23. See Patricia Orwen, "Surge in female MPs raises activists' hopes," *Toronto Star*, 28 October 1993.

The Committee for '94, Winning Women, and Femmes regroupées pour l'accès au pouvoir politique et économique (FRAPPE) are organizations which strive to increase female political participation and representation in Canada.

- ² Telephone interviews were conducted with the offices of all provincial and territorial Clerks or Legislative Assemblies (except Ontario), the Public Information Office of the House of Commons, and le Bureau de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec during the week of 14 November 1994. The Senate's Communications Office was contacted during the weeks of 14 and 21 November 1994. Interviews with embassies and high commissions were conducted by Katherine Young, Research Assistant, Legislative Research Service, during the weeks of 14 and 21 November 1994.
- ³ Penney Kome, *Women of Influence: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1985), p. 30.
- ⁴ Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), p. 282.
- ⁵ A. Anne McLellan, "Legal Implications of the Persons Case," *Constitutional Forum* 1:1 (October 1989): 11-12.
- ⁶ Kome, Women of Influence, p. 204.
- ⁷ Canada West Foundation, *Conference Report: Renewal of Canada Institutional Reform* (Calgary: The Foundation, January 1992), p. 10.
- ⁸ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee on a Renewed Canada, *Report* (Ottawa: The Committee, February 1992), pp. 45-46.
- ⁹ The Women's Franchise Act of 1918 gave the vote to women who were British subjects and over the age of 21. See Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History, p. 208.

Many Native women did not receive the right to vote until 1960. See "Exposing Barriers," *Leaf Lines* (Fall 1992): 7.

- ¹⁰ Sylvia B. Bashevkin, *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada*, 2d ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), Table 1.1, p. 5.
- 11 Kome, Women of Influence, p. 198.
- ¹² Ibid., pp. 11-12; and Bashevkin, Toeing the Lines, Table 1.1, p. 5.

Newfoundland did not become a Canadian province until 1949. Women were able to vote and eligible to hold office in that jurisdiction by 1925.

- ¹³ Kome, *Women of Influence*, p. 29; and Debra Forman, comp. and ed., *Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario*, 3 vols. (Toronto: Research and Information Services, Legislative Library, 1984), 1:xxii and 3:56 and 70.
- ¹⁴ Kome, Women of Influence, pp. 198, 205 and 207.
- ¹⁵ Birch became the first woman to hold a cabinet portfolio in Ontario when she was appointed Provincial Secretary for Social Development in 1974. See Forman, *Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario*, 1:xlvi and 1:1.
- ¹⁶ "Resignation forces Sask. Cabinet shuffle," The Public Sector (18 January 1993): 3.
- ¹⁷ Ms Campbell stepped down as leader of her party on 13 December 1993.
- ¹⁸ Robert Matas, "Victorious Johnston setting stage early for next election," *Globe and Mail*, 22 July 1991; and "N.W.T. elects woman as leader for 1st time," *Toronto Star*, 14 November 1991.
- ¹⁹ Dean Beeby, "Callbeck devient la première femme élue au poste de premier ministre," *Le Droit*, 30 March 1993.
- Alexa McDonough resigned as leader of the Nova Scotia NDP on 19 November 1994.
 See "Leader of NDP in N.S. resigns," Globe and Mail, 21 November 1994, p. A9.
- ²¹ Bashevkin, *Toeing the Lines*, pp. 103-106; and Charlotte Gray, "Style and the Political Woman," *Chatelaine* (October 1986): 100. Thérèse Casgrain was elected leader of the Quebec CCF in 1951. She ran for office on a number of occasions but was never successful. See Kome, *Women of Influence*, pp. 51-52.
- ²² The Inter-Parliamentary Union published the results of another survey in 1992. See Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women and Political Power: Survey Carried Out Among the 150 National Parliaments Existing as of 31 October 1991*, Series "Reports and Documents," No. 19 (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1992).
- ²³ The 300 Group was formed in 1980. It is an all-party campaign for equal representation of women in the British parliament and in public life. See "Women MPs

mark decade of 300 Group," *London Times*, 30 April 1990, p. 2; and Sheila Gunn, "Major tries to silence outcry over cabinet with no women," *London Times*, 30 November 1990, p. 4.

- ²⁴ See, for example, Joni Lovenduski, *Women and European Politics: Contemporary Feminism and Public Policy* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986); and Ingunn Norderval, "Party and Legislative Participation Among Scandinavian Women," and Pippa Norris, "Women's Legislative Participation in Western Europe," in *Women and Politics in Western Europe*, ed. Sylvia Bashevkin (London: Frank Cass, 1985). See also Vicky Randall, *Women & Politics: An International Perspective*, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan Education, 1987); and United Nations, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Maritinus Nijhoff, 1992).
- ²⁵ Jack Lakey, "Quotas violate true equality, McLeod says," *Toronto Star*, 19 November 1992, p. A18.
- ²⁶ Vernon Bogdanor, *What is Proportional Representation?: A guide to the issues* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1984), p. 46; and Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), p. 383.
- ²⁷ See Hege Skjeie, "Ending the Male Political Hegemony: the Norwegian Experience," and Diane Sainsbury, "The Politics of Increased Women's Representation: the Swedish Case," in *Gender and Party Politics*, eds. Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (London: Sage, 1993).
- ²⁸ See an earlier reference to the February 1992 report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on a renewed Canada.

In November 1993, New Zealanders voted to change their electoral system from a 'first-past-the-post' system to a form of proportional representation. See "New Zealand: All change," *The Economist* (4 December 1993): 38.

²⁹ Beryl Nicholson, "From Interest Group to (Almost) Equal Citizenship: Women's Representation in the Norwegian Parliament," *Parliamentary Affairs* 46:2 (April 1993): 255-256; and Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women and Political Power*, Reports and Documents, No. 19 (Geneva: The Union, 1992), p. 124.

